M 175 565 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M 793 838 231 ●881 304 574 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst] This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati. But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M 182 771 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I 181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other
513 for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
565 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881●
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

I 635 6068 6066 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M 304 565 ●881 778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs. M 304 881 852

I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaëng, and the districts here are called the bate karaëng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaëng are descendants of the heaven ones. This explains a difficult point. M 565 173 793

Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace. M 798 793

Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former. M 562 609

The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjatapparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bong man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime. C 669 643

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 181 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 171 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 764 179 771 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb, he said that he had heard from informed men that they had formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence

586 595 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 ●881 565 343 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-

[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!"

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaëng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them.

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong.

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng.

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused.

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak.

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical

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